

6: Goudal--166
116, 466, 647, 177.46
636.46 —

S-3

(1934) 1938

Laotians
France

"In Laos, no local labour inspectorate has so far been established. An Order of 22 December 1932 required the inspector of political and administrative affairs to carry out ~~the~~ duties of local labour inspector in addition to his own work. Subsequently, as ~~the first-class administrator~~ of the civil services who carried out these double duties was not replaced, the chief administrative officer of the Cammon province was entrusted with the duties of labour supervisor for all mining undertakings situated in his area.

It would seem that the cuts in the estimates, which led to a reduction in the staff of the various local inspectorates, have resulted in an unfortunate decline in the activity of these services. (1)

1. We read, for example, in the Annual Report of the Tonking Labour Inspectorate for the period 1 July 1933-30 June 1934: 'The attachment of the labour inspectorate to the Fifth Bureau has resulted in greatly reducing the sphere of activity of the labour inspector, whose time is mainly taken up by his duties as chief of the Bureau of Economic Affairs; his tours of inspection have thus been reduced to those which are strictly necessary'. "

7: Thompson--78-79

J-4

(no date) 1937

Laotians

France

116. 647, 177. 64

636. 64

"Laos offered a virgin field for Doumer's administrative experiments. In 1895, two years after its nominal occupation, Laos had been divided into two districts which corresponded to no geographic or economic reality. Moreover, the country was totally undeveloped, and Cochin-China, as usual, was called upon to subsidize the administrative expenses. In the final analysis, this country had administrators but no administration. It was rather vaguely hoped that the projected railroad system would eventually overcome Laos's [79] geographical barriers and arouse the country from its economic lethargy."

7: Thompson--368-369

J-4

(no date) 1937

Laotians

116, 647, 651, 177. 64

France

636. 64

"Though the year 1893 marked the nominal occupation of Laos, it was not until three years later that the country was organized administratively as Upper and Lower Laos. This division remained purely theoretical and it was modified in 1899, when both sections were united under a single Resident Superior and a single budget. The local organization was left as it was found, only the upper stratum of offices was changed. In this the French were inspired by their Siamese predecessors, who had respected native institutions, and also by budgetary considerations. Thirteen French Commissars, aided by native officials and the inevitable interpreters, exercised all powers with a tranquil disregard of Montesquieu's principles. A native guard was adequate to perform police service among such a placid people. Revenues came from the usual head tax paid by the male population in money and in kind, and the commutation of corvée duty, licences for foreign merchants, and an export tax. There was no land tax and only a local levy on the products of the soil. The indirect tax on opium was harder to collect because certain [369] tribes had always raised enough for their own needs. There was little increase in revenues despite the steady increase in population. The budget was poor and not properly drawn up, so it had to be regularly subsidized. Cochin-China, as usual, bore the brunt of this deficit."

7: Thompson--369-370
116, 647, 645, 653, 177.64
636.64

J-4

(no date) 1937

Laotians-
France

"The centralized administration of Laos was not only part of the French mania for simplification and uniformity, which for various [370] reasons had reached Laos later than elsewhere, but was primarily stimulated by the economic importance of Laos's mines and town building in the post-war period. The modernization of Vientiane was especially notable, for it had been buried under the jungle, 400 kilometres from the sea, and on an almost unnavigable river. When the potential wealth of the country became evident, the administration began to veer away from the Protectorate ideal to direct government, making tabula rasa of native institutions. Some Hanoi officials took it into their head to suppress the King of Luang-Prabang as an obstacle to transforming Laos into a bona-fide colony. Varenne had the good sense to recognize how much the Laotians venerated their king, and so he rescued his throne from the assimilationist peril. The Protectorate was saved, and to push Laos farther along the trail blazed by Annam and Cambodia, a native advisory assembly was given to the country in 1929, and a mixed Chamber of Agriculture and Commerce, both of which recently sent delegates to the Grand Conseil. The process can only fully develop when the rail and road network is completed--that administrative pipe-dream linking Laos to the rest of the Union--which in 1936 looked perilously near fulfilment. An unfortunate corollary is that the forty-year tariff freedom of Laos, a miracle in French colonization, died in 1932 with the growth of the Siamese and Indo-Chinese railroad construction."

"As in Cambodia, the Laotian Protectorate was an immense success because it floated gently on top of the old native administration, giving an appearance of modernization to what had always existed and with which it did not interfere. The identical organization of all the muongs was a great help to the French. If the government of the Annamite countries erred on the side of over-direct administration, that of the Indianized countries was criticized as too superficial. Laos, it was said, had administrators but no administration. They collected taxes which had no accurate basis of assessment, received the semi-annual oath of functionary fidelity, and requisitioned labour and provisions. The native chieftains remained the real administrators, but no effort was made to select, train, and supervise the most able among them, or to give them regular salaries, and no longer let them take a percentage of the taxes and fines. Little was done, and that little was for the benefit of the few Europeans in the country."

7: Thompson--369 [2]
116, 647, 652, 671, 177.64
636.64

J-4

(no date) 1937

Laotians
France

"Of the budget expenditures one per cent was allotted to road building, when paths were almost non-existent in Laos. Fifty per cent of the revenues was absorbed by the administration. A subsidy to the company that navigated the Mekong cost 350,000 francs: the total revenues were 600,000, and all for the occasional transportation of the hundred European residents and their mail. The Laotians were much too amiable and indolent to protest against this state of affairs. They were a charming people, who knew nothing of French civilization but the pleasure of paying taxes. They asked little and so they got little. If this were true of the Laotians it was even more so of the mountain peoples. The country was administered as if it were exclusively inhabited by Laotians. The codes, and the mandarins who applied them, were Laotian. The Provincial Council, long the sole representative organization, had no delegate from the mountaineers. Buddhists were given a monopoly of the education, though the Yaos were Confucianist and the Khas fetishists. The administration concentrated on the valley-bound Laotians and ignored the scattered mountain peoples, who differed radically in religion, language, and customs. The Meos's reaction to the Laotians was shown by the massacre of 1920."

10: d'Orleans--296-297
116, 208, 647, 651 177.65
636.65

T-3 (1891-92) 1894

Laos
Siam

"We find that a people is being formed; if there is not a sentiment of nationality the governing power is becoming autocratic and an administrative centralization is being effected to its profit, under the control and the direction of the Siamese. The local rulers are in communication with Bangkok, even if they have not been on a visit there; they are learning to appreciate luxury, and they are upon the point of arming their troops with European weapons, of increasing their effective, and lending aid to the forces of the invaders. In order to obtain these charming results of what may be called 'the new civilisation,' much money is needed, but if the king's expenditure has increased it has not been so with the earnings of the people. The latter were not consulted when a tax was put upon opium 'for their good,' when the tchoum-tchoum was made a monopoly, or when a capitulation tax of eight rupees for each man and six for each woman was imposed. The consequence is that they are discontented and unable to make any further payments, mandarins from all parts of the kingdom writing that the villagers are willing enough to come to the capital and take the oath, but empty-handed. Last year several had to sell what they possessed, and now they are endeavouring to borrow, and are murmuring [297] against those who have ruined them. The peasants bow the head in subjection because they see no liberator; but the first man who comes forward with some arms and a relatively small sum of money, in order to drive out the Siamese, may be assured of encountering an enthusiastic and almost unanimous welcome from the population."

10: d'Orleans--298-299

T-3 (1891-92) 1894

Laos

116, 208, 647, 651 177.64

France

636.64

"To revert to Luang Prabang, we have a Vice-Consul there, or rather an agent, for he has not got an exequatur. Assisted by twelve interpreters, he does wonders with the limited means at his disposal, but as he is generally short of money and is obliged to borrow from the Chinese to pay the staff, he cannot do much to uphold French interests. The most he can do is to keep up the few friends whom he has gained for us by his personal influence and winning ways. For his title of French agent weighs as nothing in the balance compared to his personal popularity, so that he is seconded but not feared, for it is known that he cannot speak out, that his threats will remain a dead letter, that he is not backed up, and that the Foreign Office seems indifferent to the Mekong question. Compare our mode of action to that of the English in Xieng Mai, a Laos State bordering on Burmah and similarly situated to Luang Prabang. At Xieng Mai there is a consul with an exequatur, that is to say duly recognized by the native Government and his own, well [299] paid and backed up by his superiors, having under his own orders several thousand British protégés and holding very much the same position as the Siamese Commissioner here, this latter being everything while we are nothing."

10: d'Orleans--300

T-3

(1891-92) 1894

Laos

116, 647, 662, 681, 695

"The administrative functionaries and the judges are appointed by the king, subject to the approval of the Siamese Commissioner. Justice is administered according to the traditions of what was known in the early ages as 'the judgments of God.' That is to say the oath is taken upon a silver cup or a sword, and holy water is given the accused to drink, and if the accused person has wrongly declared himself innocent the water will poison him or the sword will be thrust through him by a spirit, at night. It need hardly be said that the judges are not satisfied with this test, that is to say, they take care to inform themselves before the trial as to the fortune of the prisoner, and it is said that they are easily influenced by bribes.

The punishments comprise fines, the bastonade, penal servitude, and being put in chains, but torture is not practised."

- 114 War was placed in charge of the station at Kampot, a small Cam-
175* bodian port on the Gulf of Siam. He soon learned how to gain the
654 confidence of the natives and became passionately interested in
studying the glorious past of the ancient Kmers. His enthusiasm
determined /255/ Governor Le Myre de Vilers in 1880 to place him
in charge of a mission for study and for the construction of a tele-
/647 graph line between Pnom-Penh and Bangkok. For five years he ex-
plored Cambodia in all directions, brought back abundant documenta-
tion from his voyages and the beginnings of the first map of the
land which he had crossed, then returned to France with thirteen
young Cambodians for whom the future Colonial School /Ecole
coloniale/ was created in Paris.
- 175* His ardent desire, expressed many times to his superiors, to com-
654 plete his first labors by means of methodical exploration of the
Laotian regions and to go "in the direction of those northern peoples
who had previously attracted Mouhot, Francis Garnier and de Carne"
and more recently Drs. Harmand and Neis (1), gained him an

1. Upon his return from the Tonkin expedition in 1874 Dr. Harmand had been placed in charge of a scientific expedition to Indo-China. It was in the course of this mission, the account of which appeared in the *Tour du Monde* ("Le Laos et les populations sauvages de l'Indochine") that he explored, in 1877, Lower and Middle Laos from Bassac to Lakhone and from Lakhone to Hue, crossing the Kemmarat, exploring the Se-Bang-Hien and gaining Hue by way of the Se-Tchepone. He thus proved for the first time that it was possible to go from the banks of the Mekong to the shore of Annam.

P. Neis, a naval doctor who was also given a scientific mission in Lower Laos by the Ministry of Education in 1882, had been told by M. Le Myre de Vilers as he passed through Singapore of the more immediate interest which the exploration of the regions situated between Luang-Prabang and Tonkin would hold. Given further information by Dr. Harmand, who was then consul in Bangkok, he went up the Mekong and reached the plateau of Tran-Ninh, but the Ho incursions forced him back to Luang-Prabang where he stayed for eight months (1883) without being able to resume his eastward march. He had to content himself with returning to Bangkok by way of Xieng-Sen and Xieng-Mai.

643* Indeed King Zakarine, no matter what his attitude of detachment
648* towards power, was noteworthy for his simplicity, his good sense and
175* his ability to see /323/ the usefulness of certain reforms. For he was
/178/ very poorly seconded by the mandarins of the kingdom council (Senam),
/646/ who were "incompetent men and scoffers dominated by their im-
mediate and individual interests" (1). On the whole, however, the

1. Cf. *ibid.* , p. 78.

642 political and social organization which we found was a good one,
178 and we acted wisely in preserving all the mechanisms of the native
administration and in respecting the traditions, customs and mores
of the populations throughout all of Laos, insofar as they were com-
patible with our own institutions (2). This was all the more easy for

2. Thus we were led to suppress radically the slave traffic
which was enriching a few Siamese, Cambodian, Laotian
and Burmese mandarins. Cf. L. de Reinach, *op. cit.* /Le
Laos (Posthumous edition), Paris, 1911. /, pp. 230 ff.

us in that all the Laotian muongs (whether or not they were de-
pendencies of Luang-Prabang) had a similar organization which was
a smaller model of that of the kingdom (except for the Senam) and
647 was an obvious vestige of the epic times of Fa-Ngoum and the great
642 State of Lan-Xang (3). Like the king, the governors of /324/
631

3. The following was, in outline, the political organiza-
tion of the kingdom of Luang-Prabang in 1894:

/643/* At its head the king, the great master of existences
(Somdet-Phra-Chao), and the second king, the great master
responsible for the preservation of property (Chao-Maha-
Oupahat).

Then came the minister princes: the Ratsavong or first
prince and right-hand minister; the Ratsabout or second
prince and left-hand minister; and the Komakhoun or third
and fourth princes and ministers of the center and of the
civil services.

/646/
/693/ The first three mandarins, who bore the title of Phaya,
were, in order of importance: 1) the Phaya Muong-Sen or
first right-hand mandarin, head of the Senam and head of
of justice; 2) the Phaya Muong-Tiane or first left-hand

mandarin and head of the tribunal; 3) the Phaya Muong- 647
Khang or first mandarin of the center and head of the Serv- 642
ice of public works, transports, etc. 631.

The Senam was composed of the Phaya Muong-Khoua or /646/
second right-hand mandarin, and of four councillors under
the direction of the Phya Muong-Sen.

The judges or Kromakanes, who were under the Phaya /693/
Muong-Sen and the Phaya Muong-Tiane, numbered seven
in all and included the Phaya Muong-Sai or second left-
hand mandarin.

Last came the mandarins responsible for the collection of /653
taxes, the assembling of labor drafts and the transport of 644/
bamboo, rattan, thatch and pirogues for the king's service
and the public services; then the pages and chamberlains
or mahaleks, the military leaders, the functionaries re-
sponsible for petty tasks inside the palace, the treasurers,
storekeepers, etc.

The reader will note the insignificant position reserved /701/
for the military mandarins in this hierarchy. Of Sam-Sene-
Thai's powerful army (see above, p. 56), nothing at all re-
mained.

provinces were aided by an Oupahat, a Ratsavong and a Ratsabout
who, like the court dignitaries, gave their orders to the tassengs or
canton heads who had authority over the village leaders (naibans).
By establishing the different government commissions in Laos Pavie
therefore strengthened the native authorities in their age-old
prerogatives and the princes of Luang-Prabang in /325/ their dynastic
rights and privileges. In order to mark their absolute attachment to
France and to give more force to their vehement protests against
awarding Siam the part of the kingdom situated on the right bank,
the latter insisted on receiving, in solemn fashion and as soon as
possible, the investiture of the government of the Republic from the
commissioner general. After his return from Muong-Sing eight 643*
months later, Pavie drew up on parchment in Hanoi the titles of
the old king Oun-Kham, of King Zakarine, of his brother and of the
Oupahat Boun-Khong, and on April 19, 1895 proceeded to this
important ceremony.

"All those who had a part in the control of affairs," he wrote
as he finished the account of his mission, "were present. The en-
tire populace was invited. In the name of the government of the

643* Republic and by delegation of the governor general of Indo-China, I confirmed the status of the princes in Laos, which had become a French possession. They piously accepted, from the man who loved their country so greatly, the responsibility of continuing under France's authority to lead it with wisdom and goodness" (1).

1. Mission Pavie, "Geographie et Voyages," Vol. II, p. 382.

/326/ Provisory administrative organization (July-August 1894).

642 Anxious to complete the provisional organization of the country and
631 to rejoin the Chinese and British missions of the Upper Mekong, he
647 left Luang-Prabang for the south on July 9, 1894, leaving his second-in-command Lefevre-Pontalis to establish in the north, together with Messrs. Macey and Garanger, the commercial agencies of Xieng-Khong and Xieng-Sen and the future commissions of Poukha and Muong-Ha-Hine (in the two Muong-Hou, while awaiting the imminent delimitation of the territory).

When he passed through Vientiane (July 14) he established M. Lugan in the new province which had been formed of the muongs of Tourakom, Borikane, Patchoum etc. and chose the site of the future commercial agency in Nongkhay. Then, continuing to go down-river, he made contact with the leaders of the left bank (including, among others, at the junction of the Nam-Nhiép, Chao-Kham-Ngon who was the last descendant of Chao-Noi and whom he had recognized as chaumuong of Xieng-Khouang).

In Middle Laos he took all necessary steps to establish the authority of the delegates of the superior resident in Annam over the old circumscriptions of Tran-Dinh, Cam-Lo and Quang-Dinh; to organize the regions of Hinboun /327/ /Page 327 is devoted to an illustration: "Bridge over the Nam-Khane at Luang-Prabang."--/ Translator/ /328/ (Faureville) and of Song-Khone (Savannakhet); and finally to make ready for the trips of the commercial agents destined for the posts on the right bank at Lakhone-Panom, Ban-Mouk and Kemmarat. Where the river joined the Sebanghien he was joined by the administrator Od'endhal who had just reached Song-Khone, and he agreed with him to extend the administration of this region as far as the muongs of Saravane and Attopeu.

In the south he visited the commercial agency which had been established ever since 1892 at Bassac, and greeted the latter's

phantom king (1) who had remained "under the guardianship of a 642

631

1. Chao-Kham-Souk, one of Chao-Houy's sons (see above 647
p. 168 and p. 177, note 2) who had been placed on the /175*/
throne by Bangkok in 1863. His fief had been dismembered
by the treaty of 1893 and was in reality no longer anything
but a Siamese province. He was to die in 1899.

Siamese agent of an inferior type." At Khong he met Commander
Tournier, who had been placed in charge of the Legion troops
stationed between Stung-Treng and the islands of Khone, and who
was also invested with civil powers in the muongs of the left bank
while awaiting the imminent arrival of administrators from Cochinchina (this latter country was to organize the southern Laotian
provinces at the expense of its own budget). On August 9 he witnessed the arrival of Lieutenant-commander Simon, the leader of
a hydrographic mission /329/ which had been planned the year before by M. Delcasse. This mission was to employ the sloops La
Grandiere and Massie and to go on surveillance duty on the Middle
and Upper Mekong. With this purpose it was to: 1) trans-ship its
cargo at Khone; 2) cross the dangerous defiles of Kemmarat by
every possible means; and 3) stop "only where it was materially
and absolutely impossible to get through." At the cost of tremendous
effort the mission was to reach Luang-Prabang on September 1 and
Tang-Ho on October 25, 1895 at a distance of 2500 kilometers from
the sea and an altitude of more than four hundred meters (1). On 654
505

1. The bold results of the Simon mission demonstrated the
possibility of organizing a regular navigation service from
Saigon to Luang-Prabang by using either steam sloops or
pirogues, depending on the season. The service was later
established.

August 13 Pavie reached Phnom-Penh and then went to Hatien where 648*
the gunboat Vipere was waiting for him. The latter took him to 175*
Bangkok on the 20th, and scarcely had he landed when he hastened
to inform both the Quai d'Orsay and Prince Devawongse of the discoveries he had made all along the Mekong, namely that the treaty
had not been made known to the populace and that the king of
Siam's proclamation relative to the return of former inhabitants of
the left bank of the river to their own country was still unknown

"The story of Auguste Pavie should be placed in the hands of our youth. It is a magnificent lesson in itself. To the ambitious it shows how far a desire /338/ to learn combined with the passion for action can lead; to patriots how one can serve one's country; and to all how an ardent soul can ennoble the most humble tasks and, springing from the humblest origins, can rise to the most honored and most envied posts" (1).

1. Quoted by Colonel Friquegnon. Cf. Bulletin de l'Asie française, November-December 1925, No. 236, p. 356.

Final organization (1895-1899). The administrative organization of the new possession had only been sketched out by Pavie during his hasty descent of the Mekong. It was taken up and completed by Superior Resident Bouloche, who was sent out on a mission in May 1895. Laos was first divided into two territories or commands:

1. Upper Laos, with its capital at Luang-Prabang, including all the Muongs of the left bank situated between Yunnan, the British Shan States, Tonkin, Annam and Cammon exclusively, with the exception of the cantons of the Black River and a large part of the Houa-Phans; the first of these latter were attached to Tonkin and the second to the province of Thanh-Hoa (Annam);

2. Lower Laos, with its capital at Khong, formed of all the regions which had formerly been dependencies of the old /339/ kingdom of Vientiane and which were contained between the Annamitic Chain and the Mekong from Cammon to Cambodia.

A superior commandant was placed at the head of each of these divisions, who was directly responsible to the governor general of Indo-China. Each command was then subdivided into provinces or "commissionerships" (six for Upper Laos, seven for Lower Laos), each formed of a group of several muongs and headed by "government commissioners" who were then given (except in Luang-Prabang) the most varied duties and the most absolute initiative -- general administration, police, taxes, public works, justice, public education and even, in most cases, medical help.

In 1899 the two circumscriptions were united under the authority of a superior resident (1) with his seat in Savannakhet (shortly there-

1. Cf. decree of the governor general of February 6 and decree of the President of the Republic of April 19.

after in Vientiane), and unified Laos took its place in the Franco-

631 Upper Laos contained six commissionerships and Lower Laos seven.
175 Each was directed by an official with the title of Government Commissioner [Commissaire] (similar to the title of "commissioner" in British possessions). He was assisted by a clerk, scholars and a native interpreter.

Because of their many and varied duties, government commissioners must have extensive knowledge. In fact, these officials are responsible for general administration, police, collecting taxes and duties, selling opium, public works, justice, public education and, in centers without doctors, for the health service.

A further factor to complicate their task is that the circumscriptions are large and communications difficult.

347 Just as in physiology "the function creates the organ," so must our agents become topographers, naturalists, geologists, engineers, architects, etc. all at the same time. Each of them devotes his talents to the task, striving to do his best and able to count only on himself. [275] [Illustration] [276] [Blank page] [277] Their task is facilitated, however, by the zeal and specialized knowledge of the clerks and leaders of the native guard, who are inspectors and chief guards, former officers or sub-officers of the army. Most of these agents have been on campaigns in Algeria or in the colonies and are used to shifting for themselves, to use an expression which is as apt as it is picturesque.

To this system of individual initiative Laos owes the fact of possessing comfortable, durable and healthy installations built of wood, brick or cobwork which certain other colonies, although better endowed from the point of view of the availability of many technical services, did not possess to so high a degree after they had been established for ten years.

631 Present organization. By decree of the Governor
642 General dated February 6, 1899, the two divisions of Laos were joined and a united Laos was placed under the authority of a Superior Resident (1) named by decree of the President of the Republic. This same edict

(1) The enlightened choice of the Government fell on Lieutenant-colonel Tournier, former Superior Commandant in Lower Laos.

abolished the positions of Superior Commandants in Upper and Lower Laos.

Like Cochinchina, Laos is a direct dominion, but is administered according to the forms of a strict protectorate and therefore does not

Hill Tribes

these centers, the spiritual authority of the fathers extends over fifty-four other villages located among the Bahnars, the Goclars and the Rognaois, and even over a few Cedang and Djarai villages.

797

"Although the total number of conversions is not more than 3,000, the moral influence of the missionaries is considerable throughout all this region which is inhabited by Khas of rather a warlike spirit.

"After the last famines in Annam the missionaries took in 1,200 Annamites, both Catholic and non-Catholic, and organized them in three villages on the plateau of Kon-Toum. The village at Ro-Hay numbered 500 inhabitants. But the mortality rate is high among these newcomers and for the moment, at least, it does not seem that the experiment will be successful.

"The Khas in the midst of whom they live regard the reverend fathers rather as officials of the protective government than as apostles of a religion. These primitive folk cannot recognize the difference between spiritual authority and temporal authority. Thus they always address themselves to the missionaries and it is through the latter that our administration acts on these peoples.

"Up to the present time this system has presented nothing but advantages, and it will probably not be modified for a considerable length of time, at least not as long as the present state of affairs prevails and we only have reason to congratulate ourselves on the devoted cooperation which the reverend fathers give us.

"The Protestant missionaries, who are established in Siam and belong to a North American society, have made a few very discreet attempts to evangelize certain of our subjects. So far, however, they have not founded any establishments on our territory" (1).

(1) Le Laos français, op. cit. [Lieutenant-colonel Tournier (Superior Resident in Laos), "Notice sur le Laos français," in Revue indochinoise, Hanoi, 1900.]

The Laos which we acquired at very little cost and for a sum which is insignificant in comparison to what other colonies have cost, is that one of our possessions which has the smallest number of officials. We have noted elsewhere that its area is equal to half that of France, or very nearly equal to that of Italy. Yet seventy-two agents are sufficient for the administration and general police, including twenty-seven for the European units of the native guard,

647

647 or one official or agent of the public force for every 6,528 inhabitants
(2). The cost for salaries and accessory items for the same personnel

(2) In Cochinchina there is one official for every 1,659 inhabitants.

force is 609,000 francs.

[286] 2. ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

635 Laos contains fourteen circumscriptions, to wit:
The province of Muong-Hou, capital at Muong-Hou-Neua.
" " " Vien-Poukha (1), " " Muong-Sing

(1) This province is sometimes called "Western Upper Laos."

" "	" Hua-Pahn,	" "	" Muong-Son.
" "	" Luang-Prabang,	" "	" Luang-Prabang.
" "	" Tran-Ninh,	" "	" Xieng-Khouang.
" "	" Vien-Tiane,	" "	" Vien-Tiane (seat of the Superior Residency, capital of French Laos).
" "	" Cammon,	" "	" Pak-Hin-Boun.
" "	" Song-Khone,	" "	" Savannakhet.
" "	" Saravane,	" "	" Saravane.
" "	" Ban-Mouang,	" "	" Ban-Mouang.
" "	" Attopen,	" "	" Attopen.
" "	" Khong,	" "	" Khong.
" "	" Stung-Treng,	" "	" Stung-Treng.
" "	" Darlac,	" "	" Darlac.

The following tables give useful information on each of these provinces.

693

Judges, or "Kromakanes" in Laotian, are responsible to the Phaya-Muong-Sen and the Phaya-Muong-Tiane, and are the:
Phaya-Muong-Sai, second mandarin of the left.
Phaya-Sieng-Tai.
Phaya-Muong-Pak.
Phaya-Sak-Kha.
Phaya-Muong-Khouk (particularly responsible for supervision of prisons).

Phaya-Phane-Nong.

Mune-Vi-Sai.

647

651

[492] The mandarins responsible for the collection of taxes, the assemblage of statute laborers, and the transport of bamboo, rattan, thatch straw and pirogues for the king's service and the public service are the:

Phaya-Soune, mandarin of the middle.

Pha-Jotha.

Sanone.

Si-Phat-Thamane.

Si-Samoute.

Si-Sounone.

Sene-Tiane.

Under the orders of the Phaya-Muong-Khang and the Phaya-Soune.

The pages of the king bear the honorary title of "Mahatlek."

They are the:

644

1. Phaya-Nak-Phoumine

Phaya-Kham-Soune-Phou

Chief pages and chamberlains.

2. Phaya-Na-Heua.

Phaya-Mune-Na.

Phaya-Natai.

Phaya-Muong-Phene.

Principal pages attached to the king's person, who bear his arms and insignia in ceremonies.

3. Phout-Thavong-Mahakhote

Mune-Vong-Sai.

Akhasa.

Chamber pages, guardians of the king's property, of his parasol, etc.

701

The military leaders are the:

Phaya-Soupho.

Phaya-Kham-Mone.

Phaya-Vieng-Ke.

Phaya-Vieng-Khame.

Oupasa.

Mune-Sanone-Tiai.

Responsible for various military duties.

644 The functionaries responsible for minor duties inside the palace, under the orders of their chief the Maha-Monti, are the:

Maha-Nosit, Lasa-Nosit, Lasa-Mat, Sanet, Sakarne-Nane, Latsavat, Out-Thamonti, Sene-Thong-Niot, Sathipavot.

[652] [493] The treasurers, storekeepers and palace guards have the titles of:

647 Phaya-Vi-Sai-Monthiene, Phone-Seuk-Khoua, Phone-Seuk-Sai.

697 Finally the jailers and scourgers (or executioners) under the command of the king or of the head of the justice department:

Phone-Tesak, Sa-Phakdi, Sa-Dab-Khame, Vong-Phouthone.

635 In the provinces, the head of a muong bears a title which is
631 personal to him, "Phaya" or "Phya," to which he adds that of "Tiao-Muong" and the name of the province, as Phaya-Si-Vorarat-Phrak-Di, Tiao-Muong-Vien-Tiane.

Under his command he has principal mandarins in the number of three, who bear the titles of "Oupahat," "Latsavong" and "Latsaboute." Each of them is generally responsible for the administration of one part of the muong, under the supervision of the "Tiao-Muong."

These high officials are seconded, depending on the importance of the muong, by a larger or smaller number of counselors or judges who bear the titles of "Sen," "Tiane," "Khang," etc.

[623] Muongs are generally divided into cantons, and the heads of the latter bear the title of "Taseng." Each canton includes several villages or "Bans," and each of these has at its head a mayor who is usually called "Pho-Ban" (the father of the village). The head of a village is aided by a kind of council or assembly of notables, the titles of whom are "Pia," "Luong," "Koun," "Sen," "Mune" or "Nai."

643 The four principal leaders of a muong, that is to say the "Tiao-Muong," the "Oupahat," the "Latsavong" and the "Latsaboute" (1),
646

(1) In the Hua-Pahn-Ha-Tang-Hoc, the heads of muongs bear the following titles: "Phaya" (Tiao-Muong), "Phya-Hua-Pahn" (Oupahat), "Phya-Balat" (Latsavong), "Phya-Kam" (Latsaboute). In accordance with custom, these offices are hereditary and sons succeed their fathers, except for the office of "Phaya" (Tiao-Muong) where the rule is not absolute.

are [494] elected either by the nobles or by commoners who possess certain aptitudes and sufficient intellectual culture. The whole population, nobles, officials and common people, are consulted. Then the

643 canton heads and heads of villages, who might be described as canton-
646 tonal and municipal delegates, gather in the capital of the muong to vote on the names of candidates which are presented. The name of the one who obtains the most votes is then presented by the province administrator to the superior resident, who accepts or rejects him after studying his personal qualities, his aptitudes, his background, etc. In the case of a rejection the electors are consulted a second time. The superior resident names the four chiefs of muongs by delegation from the governor general. These latter may not begin office until they receive their commission, insignia and seal from the French government.

In general, the electors' choice falls on a son, brother or nephew of the high official who is to be replaced, unless he is unworthy or notoriously incapable.

635 Mandarin of lesser importance are named by the province head
647 with the approval of the persons under his administration and of the superior resident.

647 Officials receive a salary only in the kingdom of Luang-Prabang
652 and in the provinces of Vien-Tiane and Muong-Hou. Everywhere else they must be content with a fee equivalent to one-tenth of the sums they collect as taxes.

693 In their capacity as judges, the muong authorities also collect legal costs and shares in the sums of certain fines, as is the custom of the land.

647 Such, in its general outline, is the organization of the Laotian
576 administration. It generally functions well, is sufficient to the needs of the natives and makes it possible for us, despite the vast extent of our possession, to keep only a few European officials there.

192 The outer forms of respect towards great men, mandarins and anyone who holds a rank are dictated by Laotian etiquette, as in Siam. One does not speak to a king, a [495] [Illustration] [496] [Blank page] [497] prince or a leader as one would to an equal or an inferior. There are special expressions which are peculiar to the representatives of certain social classes or to the holders of dignities. But even while it conserves, at bottom, the ritual ceremonial forms, Laotian etiquette is paternal and much more spontaneous and genuinely respectful than elsewhere.

When they speak to the king, to princes, to great men, etc., inferiors prostrate themselves, with forehead on clasped hands, near the ground, or with their hands clasped above their head. Outside of this particular case, those present may remain squatting, smoke, talk, laugh and even disturb the audience somewhat. Moreover, no lack whatsoever of respect is to be seen in this liberty.

000 indispensable for us to be acquainted with customs of our French friends. This is to prevent that in the course of a French-Laotian gathering we should be embarrassed in our actions and gestures. The French on their side should not be ignorant of our customs; a gesture of Laotian politeness might well be misinterpreted by those who are unacquainted with our customs, and that would be a regrettable misunderstanding.

How a Laotian Mandarin Should Behave.

647 A high Laotian functionary, in order to be worthy of his rank,
576 must have a different bearing depending on whether he finds himself in the exercise /977/ of his functions, among his family, or at private gatherings.

577 In the office. --In his office the mandarin behaves in an irre-
647 proachable fashion in order to show himself worthy of the functions that he holds. In this way he sets a good example to the officials who are under his authority. Before he reprimands one of his subordinates, he must have thought the matter over to get a clear idea of the effects that his reprimand may have. The man who has received the reprimand will not fail to answer, in effect, any unfounded criticism. If the head of a department hands out reprimands on every possible occasion, even for minimal matters, his staff will end up by being used to his unnecessary harangues. By this process one scarcely makes oneself obeyed and respected. In short, the mandarin should "turn his tongue seven times in his mouth" before speaking; he has a correct appearance and is concerned about his reputation and his honor.

593 In the family. --The mandarin must be a good father of his
647 family in the company of his wife and of his children. He facilitates
666 the household work entrusted to his wife, in place of picking quarrels with her from vain motives. Crude forms of expression may give rise to arguments. It is up to you, mandarin, to avoid them. It is possible that your wife may throw you into a fit of anger. In that case it is up to you to control yourself and at the same time to try and appease your companion by consoling words. If one of the partners in a marriage is "fire," so goes a Laotian adage, the other must

naturally be "water." These two elements, opposed though they are 593
to one another, nonetheless go together. If you should happen to 647
raise your voice, see to it that it does not reach the ears of your 565
neighbors who will be sure to laugh at your domestic misunderstanding.
There is a good way to appease your anger: that is to go out and get
some fresh air. A moment of distraction will calm your irritation.
This precious and effective remedy is called, according to a Laotian
expression, "to caress one's heart with a hand drenched with fresh
water."

On a walk and on a visit. --Formerly it used to be considered 574
a disgrace for a mandarin to go for a walk by himself or to visit minor 647
functionaries. Nowadays this is no longer the case. A Laotian 565
Minister goes out alone without being accompanied by the traditional 178
retinue. He visits all classes of society without being criticized for
it by anyone at all.

At a private gathering. --In contrast to the customs of former
times, present-day mandarins accept the invitation of a simple
citizen. The host very often organizes various diversions: dances, /533/
lamvong, orchestras, songs etc. The Ministers willingly participate /535/
in these; they sing, dance, and pay their respects to the phousaos
while they mingle with the crowd. Certain Laotians whom I consider
backward criticize the liberal manner on the part of our Ministers.
Our great mandarins are their own masters. Let them turn a deaf
ear to these carpings. /978/

Honor Laotian Women

Some people consider the Laotian woman as an inferior 562
creature.

Certain women, it appears, are not permitted to eat with
their husband. Miserable husbands! You consider then that your
better half is like an animal?

Certainly, tradition says: "The woman must sleep with her /513/
head lower than her husband's. She must go to bed after him and
she must get up before him. The husband must have eaten three /264/
mouthfuls of rice before the wife can begin to eat in her turn."

These counsels of our fathers are valuable, but they are far
from indicating that the woman is inferior to the man. They recommend,